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ARTICLES

F. Frauchiger, The speech-community: some practical aspects of its limitations 1

R. I. McDavid, Burmese phonemics 6

REVIEWS AND NOTES

D. M. Spencer: M. B. Emeneau, Kota texts 19

G. L. Trager: Notes 22

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STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS
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THE SPEECH-COMMUNITY: SOME PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF ITS LIMITATIONS

Fritz Frauchiger, University of Oklahoma

Language co-extends with society in the speech-community. As we know, given linguistic forms mean one and the same thing at a given time to members of such a community. Communication of knowledge that is expressible in language is possible between separate speech-communities only through the medium of individuals who are familiar with both languages. Unified linguistic systems, i.e. languages, in their everyday use by the average, monolingual members of their respective communities of speakers, are limited and mutually exclusive. This is one of the self-evident, but often overlooked results of language description. Description shows what belongs to a language and, by implication, what does not belong to it. All those forms which are used freely and without hesitation by all or most of the members of the speech-community belong to its language. Forms which are used rarely and only by a small minority of speakers in the community, indeed which are not understood by a majority of them, do not belong to its language, and therefore are incapable of generally communicating knowledge (i.e. meanings) within the speech-community. When forms are freely used among a minority of speakers they constitute a jargon, convey meanings which only the fractional group is familiar with, and generally are of no concern to the majority of speakers in the community as a whole. Jargons are not included in this discussion. It is taken for granted here that the majority of native speakers of American English do not know any foreign languages.

It may also be observed that the larger the number of native speakers of a given language is, the smaller, in proportion, is the number among them who also understand and speak at least one foreign language. Compare, for instance, an average native speaker of American English and a native speaker of Danish or Dutch. For practical purposes, general understanding of a linguistic form by the majority of a speech-community at a given time can be used as the

test which decides whether a form does or does not belong to the language, and we include therefore in our language, for the present purpose, the current borrowings from foreign languages, so long as they are understood by most people and are freely used in speech and in print. It should be emphasized, however, that while their original spelling may remain unchanged, their pronunciation has inevitably been adapted to the sound system of American English. It is also known that the process of borrowing is often accompanied by a change in the meaning of the form, but this has no bearing on this discussion.

It may be said, then, that any statement, spoken or written, in a non-English language, regardless of the nature of the language and of the nature of the knowledge that it contains, must be translated or interpreted for the native, monolingual speaker of English if it is to be intelligible to him. In reviewing possible instances of the transmission of knowledge from a foreign language into English, it will be found that they either involve bilingual ability on the part of the foreign speaker, or on the part of the speaker of English. To assume that intelligent communication will be completed without these fundamental steps would be to presuppose the intercession of extra-sensory perception.

However, two instances come to mind of presumed cross-language communication where fragments of foreign speech are transmitted to speakers of English, in their original form or in partial adaptation. The first instance concerns oral citation, by radio broadcast, of non-English proper names, and of place-names which apply to locations outside the territories where English is the native, 'official' language. Such citation takes place either in the pronunciation which is correct in the respective foreign language, or in one which is partially anglicized, or which is completely arbitrary. The latter happens so frequently that no examples are needed to illustrate the point. We do not include traditionally anglicized foreign names in this discussion. It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty how well the average radio listener, not the person who is familiar with one or more foreign languages, understands such citations which occur in the midst of plain English context. There are surely some among the listeners who are

able to interpret such unrecognizable forms with the help of their knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the citation of the form, or, if the form is a place name, who have the help of a map and are able to find the place referred to by somehow identifying its arbitrarily voiced form with its printed form. This may happen the more readily, the closer the foreign or partly foreign sounds which make up the citation, or its spelling, as the case may be, approach habits and conditions prevailing in English. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that a rather large percentage of listeners, probably the majority, fail to get any practical meaning from such forms. Apparently this has no disturbing effect upon them. The context assures them at least that the unintelligible forms are names of persons and places, and thus the semantic continuity of the statement is not unduly interrupted by the presence of the pebble-word.[1] To be sure, the only way in which such words can be transmitted orally so as to enable anyone to find out their specific meaning from some informed source, is by spelling them. Occasionally a radio news announcer will stoop to spelling out a foreign name or word. But this laudable service to the uninformed listener does not seem to be a regular part of news-announcing. The dramatic tone of ostensibility seems to carry more weight with that profession. Spelling a word accomplishes some degree of naturalizing it, for each letter is of course cited in its traditional English pronunciation. It may be noted in passing that the citation of new formations of the trade-name type over the radio is very naturally always accompanied by a spelling of the word.

The second instance is seen in the entry, on maps made in the United States and destined for use by average English-speaking Americans, of words describing or naming features on the surface of the earth, in the form which they have or are supposed to have in the language which is 'official' in their respective area.[2] This practice is extended even to foreign place-names which have for generations had a traditional, anglicized form. A glance at any map of the National Geographic Society, for instance, will show the editors' preference, among others, for Firenze over Florence, Moskva over Moscow, København over Copenhagen. Sometimes the form which is traditional and well-known among native speakers of English appears

in smaller print and between parentheses under the locally official form. Can the map-user who has not had any training in foreign languages recognize such a native form of a name and identify it with the traditional, anglicized version that he knows well?

Features such as bays, rivers, mountains, etc., are on such maps labeled, not with these English words, which everybody understands, but with their locally official forms, which only a small minority of the map-users know, and which even fewer of them can pronounce as they are supposed to be pronounced if they are truly the 'native' forms. Whether these words occur by themselves or in apposition with a specific name, the map-reader cannot know when they are descriptive, especially if no distinct type font is used for them. In case he recognizes the word as descriptive and wishes to find out its meaning, he may see its English equivalent in the glossary, if the map he uses has one. Instead of finding the word swamp, for instance, at a given place on the map, he will find there the word X. Granted that he realizes the descriptive purpose of this word, he will then look it up in the glossary, find that it means swamp, return to the place on the map where the word X appears, look at it and say to himself 'swamp'. It is highly improbable that he, as an average monolingual native speaker of English, will ever come across the word X except on such a map; thus, he has no incentive to attempt to remember it. Moreover, in some context of its own language, the word X would be likely to present itself in some syntactic relationship other than that in which it is given on the American map, and it might therefore have a different form there. This possibility imposes a further restriction upon the usefulness of the glossary. The glossary—the only concession these map editors make to the limitations of the readers' monolingualism—completely fails to tell anything about the sounds of the foreign languages involved. It is to be assumed, then, that the editors understand by 'locally official form' the spelling alone, since they must be aware of the fact that many such spellings yield no pronunciation by English rules, hence would not serve as a possible link of oral communication with a speaker of the foreign language. And they make no attempt to point out on their maps the differences between the sound systems of the languages which occur in the areas which the maps

cover. It need not be emphasized that foreign speech-sounds cannot be represented by means of the letters of the English alphabet alone, except with the help of cumbersome and impractical tables of correspondences, and elaborate instruction sheets which could never take the place of personal instruction.

Since no two languages have been found on the globe that have the same sound system—and they are not likely to be found—the exact rendition of non-English map-terms, on maps for readers who speak English only, by means of the alphabet used in English can be said to be practically impossible. At best a good and often workable approximation can be achieved. An approximation is possible even when the 'native' form has to be transliterated into our alphabet or romanized from some non-alphabetic system of writing. If this approximation becomes popular, it is then an anglicized version of the foreign speech-form and has become naturalized. But while an introductory approximate rendition of most foreign place-names is the best we can do, and is found to be quite workable within the limits of our speech-community, both the omission of established anglicizations (Moscow, Florence, Copenhagen, for instance) in favor of the locally official form, and the insistence upon using the non-English form of descriptive words on maps, are practices which teach the map-user little, if anything at all, about the foreign languages, and, what is more serious, they also place effective obstacles in the way of his understanding.

[January 18, 1945]

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[1] I propose to call pebble-words non-English forms which take the place of a word, usually a noun, in a sentence in straight English, and which are not understandable to most speakers of English, except in a vague way and according to circumstantial evidence. Such forms are like pebbles in consumable food.

[2] We are not here concerned with maps that are to be used for special purposes, of which there are many, and some of which imply the knowledge, on the part of the map-user, of the foreign language or languages which are spoken in the regions covered by the map.

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BURMESE PHONEMICS

Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Southwestern Louisiana Institute

0. Burmese is a language of the Sino-Tibetan family, spoken by about eleven million people in Burma. Its relationship to other languages is a problem of comparative linguistics; the purpose of this paper is to describe the phonemic system of the language.[1]

Burmese readily borrows words from other languages, notably Pali (over 90% of all Burmans are Buddhists), Indian languages (chiefly Bengali and Hindustani), and English. Borrowings from these languages are adapted to the phonemics of Burmese, and may be joined with Burmese words in compounds.[2]

1. Juncture in Burmese is supra-segmental.

External open juncture, marked with period or comma, occurs at clause-final, whether main or subordinate, or after long noun expressions within a clause, as: /khín-byâ θù-gów cai'-yin, cún-dó θù-gów cai'-te/ 'if you like him, I like him.' Before external open juncture all syllables are pronounced as in isolation.

Internal open juncture, marked with space, occurs between the components of a clause, or between the components of certain analyzable collocations, such as /lá́ ló/ 'visit'. Before internal open juncture, Tones I and II are level, and syllables with these tones are shorter than when pronounced in isolation; the glottalization of Tone III is more rapid, and final /n/ and the stoppage of Tone IV occasionally anticipate the position of the initial of the next syllable.

Close juncture, marked with hyphen except following a syllable with neutral tone (which is joined to the succeeding syllable without space or hyphen), occurs between a noun or a verb and a particle or between the syllables of certain polysyllabic lexical units, as /ôwn-bín/ 'coconut tree'. Before close juncture, a syllable with Tone I or II is shorter than before space; Tone II sometimes rises; Tone III is high and short without glottalization; sandhi occurs as described in section 9.

2. Burmese stress is of two kinds, syllable-stress and phrasal

stress. Syllable-stress is an automatic function of the tone, and will be discussed when tones are discussed. Phrasal stress is an automatic function of close juncture; within a group of syllables in close juncture a syllable of any tone loses stress in proportion to its distance from the beginning of the group. Contrastive stress, marked by a colon following the syllable emphasized, is accompanied by extra length and a wavering tone on the syllable, as /bé: θwâ-θalê/ 'Where in the world have you been?' See also section 9.[3]

3. Burmese forms are of two kinds: meaningful forms and particles. Meaningful forms are of one syllable or more; particles are usually monosyllables. Meaningful forms are of two kinds: nouns and verbs. With few exceptions, formally indicated grammatical relationships between meaningful forms are shown by the use of particles.[4]

Although Burmese, like other Sino-Tibetan languages, is traditionally described as monosyllabic, many polysyllabic forms occur which cannot be analyzed into meaningful monosyllables and particles, for example /ná-yí/ 'hour, clock, watch'. Nevertheless, for practical purposes the preponderance of monosyllabic forms is such that it is best to approach Burmese phonemics through the structure of individual syllables.

4. Every Burmese syllable may be considered as a combination of tone plus initial plus final. Initials may be consonants or consonant-clusters or zero. Finals may be vowels or diphthongs, vowels or diphthongs plus nasal (phonemically /n/), or vowels or diphthongs plus the stoppage of the fourth tone (written /ˑ/).[5]

5. Every combination of tone plus initial plus final is pronounceable by a native. Some combinations, however, do not occur at all; others occur only in onomatapoetic syllables, in borrowings, or in compounds.[6] Of a theoretically possible 3200 phonemically distinct monosyllabic forms, less than half have been recorded, including particles, borrowings, onomatapoetic syllables, and members of compounds.

6. The tones of Burmese are five, four of which occur in isolation; the fifth, neutral, never occurs in isolation but only in non-final syllables in close juncture.

6.1 Tone I: Vowel long and unchecked; no marked stress at either beginning or end of vowel. Tone begins low, may continue as a low

level tone or rise slowly to a relatively high position. Example: /á/ 'to caw, croak'.

6.2 Tone II: Vowel long and unchecked, very strongly stressed, with stress strongest at the beginning of the vowel and less strong at the end. Begins at a high pitch and falls slowly to a relatively low position. Before space it is a high level tone; before close juncture it may rise. Example: /chî/ 'dung'.

6.3 Tone III: Vowel half-long, glottalized but unchecked, strongly stessed. Begins high and falls sharply to low. Glottalization slow before external open juncture, rapid before space, absent before close juncture. Example: /chà/ 'termites'.

6.4 Tone IV: Vowel very short, strongly stessed, checked with glottal closure (sometimes accompanied by simultaneous postdental or velar closure), changing its articulation in sandhi according to the articulation of the initial consonant of the following syllable. Begins high, drops very sharply. Example: /we'/ 'pig'.

6.5 Neutral tone. Short lax mid-central vowel (phonetically [ə], varying somewhat with the phonemic surroundings), unstressed. Example: /θana'/ 'gun'.

6.6 Tones I, II, and III occur with unnasalized or nasalized finals; Tone IV and the neutral tone occur with unnasalized finals only.

7. Initials are indicated in the following table of consonants:

		bilabial	inter-dental	post-dental	palatal[7]	velar	glottal
Stops &	fortis	p	θ	t	c	k	(')
Affricates	lenis	b		d	j	g	
Spirants	fortis			s	(s̬)		h
	lenis			z			
Nasals		m		n		ŋ	
Lateral				l			
Semivowels		w			y		
Flap				(r)			

7.1 Fortis consonants begin sharply, with tight muscles, are voiceless and unaspirated.

Lenis consonants begin gradually, with lax muscles, are voiceless at the beginning, with voicing occurring gradually during the formation of the consonant. This gradual voicing produces two effects on the syllable tone: (1) Tones I and II waver at the beginning, the former beginning with a slight fall, the latter with a slight rise; (2) all tones are on a relatively lower register.

7.2 Phonetic description of consonants:

/p, b/: bilabial stops. Examples: /pî/ 'to finish', /bî/ 'a comb'.

/θ/: interdental affricate, initially either voiceless or voiced; voiced in close juncture under certain conditions. Begins with the tip of the tongue between the teeth or just behind the edges of the upper teeth. Example: /θa'/ 'to kill'.

/t, d/: post-dental stops. Tip of tongue behind upper part of upper teeth or on lower part of gums. Examples: /tâ/ 'to draw, as a line'; /dâ/ 'long native utility knife'.

/c/: palatal stop, fortis. Blade of tongue makes wide contact with hard palate. May sound somewhat like a cluster of post-dental stop plus palatal semivowel or of velar stop plus palatal semivowel. Example: /câ/ 'tiger'.

/j/: palatal stop, lenis. Resembles all other lenis consonants in voice and onset and effect on syllable tone. Somewhat like the English affricate in judge, except that in the Burmese stop the blade of the tongue makes contact with a relatively greater area of the hard palate and for a relatively greater interval. Example: /jí/ 'stag'.

/k, g/: velar stops. Examples: /kou'/ 'to scratch'; /gou'/ 'nape of the neck'.

/m/: bilabial nasal. Example: /mî/ 'fire'.

/n/: post-dental nasal. Tip of tongue against upper part of upper teeth or lower part of gums. Example: /nê/ 'small, little (of quantity)'.

/ŋ/: velar nasal. Example: /ŋâ/ 'five'.

/l/: post-dental lateral, neutral (neither noticeably 'clear' nor noticeably 'dark'), tip of tongue against upper part of upper teeth or lower part of gums. Example: /léy/ '

/w/: bilabial semivowel. Example: LB /wu'/ (UB /wi'/) 'to put on, as a dress'.

/y/: palatal semivowel. Somewhat greater contact between the blade of the tongue and the hard palate than in the English semivowel in yet. Example: /yey'/ 'to reap'.

(/'/): glottal stop, of medium intensity, unaspirated, always phonetically present before a vowel initial. Since there is no contrast between presence and absence of the initial glottal stop, it is not phonemic; it is simply a feature of vowel-onset.

/h/: glottal spirant. Example: /hîn/ 'curry'.

(/r/): tongue-tip flap, occurs only intervocalically, following the neutral tone, in a few foreign words, such as Pali /tarei'-shán/ 'animal'. It is often replaced by /y/ or /l/, as /sî-gare', sî-gale', sî-gaye'/ 'cigaret'.

7.3 Consonant clusters consist only of stop or spirant or lateral or nasal plus /h, y, w/. No cluster contains stop plus stop or lateral or nasal, spirant (other than /h/) plus stop, lateral, or nasal, or lateral plus nasal.

7.31 Clusters with /h/ are of two kinds.

(1) The fortis stops and the post-dental fortis spirant, followed by /h/, give phonetically very strongly aspirated fortis stops and spirant. Examples: /phî/ 'to comb', /thî/ 'umbrella', /chî/ 'dung', /khou'/ 'to chop with a big knife', /she'/ 'to continue'.

(2) The nasals and lateral and semivowels, preceded by /h/ give phonetically voiceless nasals, lateral, and semivowels. Examples: /hmí/ 'to lean against', /hnêy/ 'slow', /hŋâ/ 'to lend property, borrow, hire', /hléy/ 'boat', /hyi'/ 'eight', /hwèy/ 'to shake, as an elephant with his trunk'. The cluster /hw-/ is extremely rare, and appears to be confined to very formal speech.[8]

7.32 The following clusters with /y/ occur: /py-, phy, by-, my-, ny-,[9] ly-,[10] hmy-, hny-, hly-/ (for the possible analysis of the palatals as clusters with /y/, see note 7). Examples: /pyí/ 'pus', /phyi'/ 'to accomplish', /byâyn/ 'heron', /myi'/ 'river', /hmyaw'/ 'to multiply', /nyi'/ 'dirty', /hnyi'/ 'to wring, squeeze, strangle', /lyâwn/ 'reclining position', /hlyá/ 'heir'.

7.33 Clusters with /w/ are very numerous. Any stop or spirant or lateral or nasal or /y/, or any cluster with /h/, may occur followed by /w/, except that /w/ may not follow itself and /hŋw-/ has

not been recorded. Nothing may follow /w/ in a cluster. This gives the following clusters: /pw-, phw-, bw-, θw-, tw-, thw-, dw-, cw-, chw-, jw-, kw-, khw-, gw-, sw-, shw-, zw-, mw-, hmw-, nw-, hnw-, ŋw-, lw-, hlw-, yw-, hyw-/. Examples: /pwe'/ 'bubbling', /phwe'/ 'to hide', /bwe'/ 'quagmire, puddle', /θwâ/ 'to go', /twêy/ 'to think, ponder', /thwêy/ 'to spit', /yéy-dwîn/ 'a well', /cwê/ 'caribao', /chwêy/ 'sweat', /myéy-jwe'/ 'muskrat', /kwe'/ 'spotted', /khwêy/ 'dog', /gwêy/ 'testicles', /swé/ 'tusk',/shwê/ 'to pull, tug', /shín-zwé/ 'ivory', /ywe'/ 'sail, leaf', /hywéy/ 'gold, golden', /mwêy/ 'to give birth', /hmwêy/ 'fragrant', /nwâ/ 'cow', /hnwêy/ 'to heat', /ŋwéy/ 'silver, money', /lwê/ 'to miss', /hlwà/ 'a saw'.

7.34 Clusters in /y/ occur without restriction as to the finals which may follow; clusters in /w/, however, are very definitely restricted: /i/ follows only in onomatapoetic words, /-ey'/ and /-ay'/ never, /-a'/ only in the onomatapoetic UB form /gwa'/ 'suction sound of feet in mud', /-aw, -o, -ow, -u/ never, of nasal finals only /-in, -an/.[11]

8. Syllabics are best analyzed as five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and four diphthongs /ey, ay, aw, ow/, occurring under the following conditions:

Tone I		Tone II		Tone III		Tone IV
Plain	Nasalized	Plain	Nasalized	Plain	Nasalized	
í	ín[12]	î	în	ì	ìn	i'
éy	éyn	êy	êyn	èy	èyn	ey'
é	--	ê	--	è	--	e'
--	áyn	--	âyn	--	àyn	ay'
á	án	â	ân	à	àn	a'
--	áwn	--	âwn	--	àwn	aw'
ó	--	ô	--	ò	--	--
ów	ówn	ôw	ôwn	òw	òwn	ow'
ú	ún	û	ûn	ù	ùn	u'

Neutral tone, unstressed syllables, always /a/.

8.1 Nasalized finals appear phonetically in absolute position as final [-n] (varying sometimes with [-ŋ], but never so as to constitute a phonemic difference), or as nasality of the syllabic. Under

the latter conditon, more common, the beginning of the vowel or diphthong is not nasalized, but nasality begins about midway during the syllabic. In close juncture, nasalized finals appear phonetically as [-m, -n, -ŋ] according to the initial of the following syllable.

8.2 The stressed syllabics of Burmese are described phonetically as follows:

/i/: (a) Tones I, II, III, unnasalized, upper high front. Examples: Tone I: /thí/ 'lottery'; /y/ clusters: /pyí/ 'pus'; /w/ clusters only in onomatapoetic syllables, such as /hywí/ 'whistling' (UB). Tone II: /bî/ 'a comb'; /y/ clusters /myî/ 'grandchild'; /w/ clusters only in onomatapoetic syllables such as /thwî/ 'sound of expectoration'. Tone III: /θì/ 'to know'; /y/ clusters /nyì/ 'to get entangled'; /w/ clusters, only the Pali borrowing /dwì/ 'two', and such onomatapoetic forms as /twì/ 'sound of scissors cutting cloth'. (b) Tone IV: lower high front retracted (phonetically [ɪ]). Examples: /θi'/ 'lumber'; /y/ clusters /pyi'/ 'to throw'; /w/ clusters, the onomatapoetic form /hywi'/ 'cracking sound, as of a snapping whip'. (c) Tones I, II, III, nasal finals: varies from lower high front retracted to lower mid front retracted; may have a centering off-glide.[12] Examples: Tone I: /phín/ 'anus'; /y/ clusters /myín/ 'to see'; /w/ clusters /thwín/ 'to take off, as scales from a fish'. Tone II: /bîn/ 'hasheesh, narcotic hemp'; /y/ clusters /myîn/ 'horse'; /w/ clusters /cwîn/ 'left over, remaining'. Tone III: /pìn/ 'to invite (clergy)'; /y/ clusters /myìn/ 'high, tall'; /w/ clusters /phwìn/ 'to open something'.

/e/: Varies from lower mid-front to upper low-front, sometimes centralized, especially in Tone IV. Examples: Tone I: /bé/ 'left, left hand'; /y/ clusters /pyé/ 'fade'; /w/ clusters /aswé/ 'tusk'. Tone II: /pê/ 'peas, beans'; /y/ clusters /myê/ 'donkey'; /w/ clusters /pwê/ 'show, festival'. Tone III: /chè/ 'to widen'; /y/ clusters, lacking; /w/ clusters /nwè/ 'to bend flexibly'. Tone IV: /we'/ 'pig'; /y/ clusters /nye'/ 'fine, small'; /w/ clusters /phwe'/ 'to hide'.

/a/: Lower low central, sometimes raised in Tone IV and in nasal finals. Examples: Tone I: /phá/ 'a prostitute', /pyá/ 'blue', /khwá/ 'hoof'. Tone II: /pâ/ 'the flat of the cheek', /pyâ/ 'bee',

/θwâ/ 'to go'. Tone III: /chà/ 'termites', /pyà/ 'to show', /hlwà/ 'a saw'. Tone IV: /na'/ 'ghost, spirit, demigod', /hnya'/ 'to cut off, as hair', /w/ clusters only onomatapoetic /gwa'/ 'sucking sound of feet in mud'. Nasalized finals: Tone I: /θán/ 'iron', /myán/ 'fast, quick', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /pân/ 'flower', /phyân/ 'to sprinkle water', /nwân/ 'tired out'. Tone II: /càn/ 'rhinoceros', /pyàn/ 'wide-spread, spread out', /w/ clusters lacking.

Neutral tone: unstressed mid-central vowel [ə], varying with the phonetic surroundings. Example: /θana'/ 'gun', /y/ clusters lacking, /w/ clusters lacking.

/o/: Lower mid-back, moderately rounded. Examples: Tone I: /dó/ 'Mrs., Madam', /pyó/ 'happy', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /cô/ 'back', /pyô/ 'say, speak, tell', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone III: /θò/ 'key', /pyò/ 'soft, flabby', /w/ clusters lacking.

/u/: Tones I, II, III, unnasalized: upper high-back, sometimes slightly fronted. Examples: Tone I: /θú/ 'he, she', /phyú/ 'white', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /dû/ 'knee', /phyû/ 'to sprinkle powder', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone III: /thù/ 'to carve', /nyù/ 'to coax', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone IV: lower high back advanced, sometimes varying to mid mid-back advanced. Examples: /pu'/ 'to scrape by rubbing, as with sandpaper', /byu'-tan/ 'hand pump for water', /w/ clusters lacking. Tones I, II, III, nasalized finals, slightly rounded, varies in beginning from lower high-back advanced to lower mid-back advanced, sometimes with centering off-glide.[12] Examples: Tone I: /cún/ 'slave, servant', /pyún/ 'pipe', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /cûn/ 'island', /yô-byûn/ 'to mix up', /w/ clusters only /hwûn/ (literary) 'throughout, entire'. Tone III: /tùn/ 'wrinkle, rumple', /hyùn/ 'mud', /w/ clusters lacking.

/ey/: Tones I, II, III, unnasalized, upper mid-front, occasionally diphthongized; Tones I, II, III, nasalized, and Tone IV, diphthongal, mid-front to high, occasionally with some retraction. Examples: Unnasalized: Tone I: /θéy/ 'to die', /myéy/ 'land, earth', /hywéy/ 'gold, golden'. Tone II: /pêy/ 'to give', /phyêy/ 'slow', /θwêy/ 'blood'. Tone III: /mèy/ 'to forget', /hyèy/ 'east, front', /khwèy/ 'to gore, as a bull'. Tone IV: /pey'/ 'to close', /hnyey'/ 'to nod the head', /w/ clusters lacking. Nasalized finals: Tone I:

/éyn/ 'house', /hyéyn/ 'glare', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /bêyn/ 'opium', /nyêyn/ 'to become extinguished', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone III: /sèyn/ 'to seep, leak through', /hyèyn/ 'to feel comfortable', /hnyèyn/ 'to nod the head',[13] /w/ clusters lacking.

/ay/: Diphthongal, low to mid-front. Examples: Tone IV: /kay'/ 'to bite', /hmyay'/ 'to cure, as meat', /w/ clusters lacking. Nasalized finals: Tone I: /sháyn/ 'shop, store', /pyáyn/ 'to compete', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /wâyn/ 'circle, circular', /byâyn/ 'heron', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone III: /jàyn/ 'pothole, hole in roadway', /y/ clusters lacking, /w/ clusters lacking.

/aw/: Diphthongal, low to mid-back. Examples: Tone IV: /chaw'/ 'six', /myaw / 'monkey', /w/ clusters lacking. Nasalized finals: Tone I: /cáwn/ 'cat', /pyáwn/ 'shiny', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /kâwn/ 'good', /myâwn/ 'ditch', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone III: /tàwn/ 'stiff', /phyàwn/ 'straight', /w/ clusters lacking.

/ow/: Tones I, II, III, unnasalized, upper mid-back, rounded, occasionally diphthongized; Tones I, II, III, nasalized, and Tone IV, diphthongal, rounded, mid-back to high, occasionally somewhat fronted. Examples: Tone I: /jów/ 'horns, as of a cow', /nyów/ 'brown', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /θôw/ 'sheep', /myôw/ 'race, nation', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone III: /nòw/ 'milk', /myòw/ 'city', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone IV: /phow'/ 'to roast in the embers, bake', /myow'/ 'to be submerged', /w/ clusters lacking. Nasalized finals: Tone I: /khówn/ 'bench, stool', /myówn/ 'grove', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone II: /θôwn/ 'three', /phyôwn/ 'to waste', /w/ clusters lacking. Tone III: /hmòwn/ 'flour, powder', /y/ clusters lacking, /w/ clusters lacking.

9. Sandhi occurs with close juncture, which is characterized by: (a) shortening of syllables in Tones I, II, III, (b) diminution of syllable-stress in direct proportion to the distance of the syllable from the beginning of the phrase, (c) pitch distribution so that in a series of syllables with close juncture, each successive syllable with Tone II, III, or IV begins at a slightly lower level than the preceding syllable, and each syllable with Tone I may begin at a slightly higher level than the preceding syllable.

9.1 The syllable preceding close juncture undergoes sandhi change under two conditions:

9.11 If this syllable has Tone IV, the glottalization is lost, unless the following syllable has zero (phonetically a glottal stop), /h/, /y/, or /w/ initial, and the stoppage become homorganic with the initial consonant of the following syllable. Thus /we'-θâ/ 'pork' is phonetically [wɛt-θâ], /le'-mà/ 'thumb' is [lɛp-mà], and /θi'-ŋow'/ 'tree stump' is [θɪk-ŋouʔ].

9.12 If the syllable preceding close juncture has a nasal final, the nasal becomes homorganic with the initial of the following syllable. Thus /ôwn-bín/ 'coconut tree' is phonetically [ʔôum-bín]. Before /h-/, /y-/, and zero the nasal final is phonetically nasality or [-n].

9.2 The syllable following close juncture does not undergo sandhi change if the preceding syllable has Tone IV. If the preceding syllable has Tones I, II, III, then fortis stops and postdental spirant, and clusters of stop or spirant plus /h/ (phonetically strongly post-aspirated consonants) become voiced (lenis) stops and spirants. In addition, /p/ and /ph/ may become voiced and spirantized as well, and /t/ may become a voiced post-dental flap; these allophones occur in free variation with the more common voiced stops, so that there is no phonemic contrast. When /h/ precedes a nasal, lateral, or semi-vowel, it does not regularly disappear in sandhi, though one finds /hnêy-nêy/ 'slowly', /shì-má/ 'in possession' beside /shì-hmá/, and /θwâ-náyn-dé/ 'can go' beside /θwâ-hnáyn-dé/. Initial /θ/ is voiced when the preceding syllable has Tones I, II, or III; there is no phonemic change, because there is no meaningful contrast. Following the neutral tone, sandhi change may or may not occur: /tapa'/ or /taba'/ 'a week'.

9.3 Apparent exceptions to the sandhi rules occur in a few words, mostly borrowings: /hó té/ 'hotel', /pyín θi'/ 'Frenchman', /mó tó kâ/ 'automobile'. In general, between the syllables of such words one finds the tone and stress phenomena characteristic of internal open juncture, as found between the syllables of /θwâ cì/ 'go and see'.

10. Summary: The phonemics of Burmese are best approached through the analysis of the syllable. Every syllable may be defined as consisting of initial plus final plus tone. Tones are five in number, one of which occurs only unstressed in non-final syllables

with close juncture to the following syllable and has a neutral vowel. Initials are 64 in number—18 consonants, 45 clusters, and zero. Finals are nine in number, five vowels and four diphthongs. All five vowels and two diphthongs occur in tones I, II, and III, unnasalized; four of the vowels and all four diphthongs occur in Tone IV, unnasalized; three of the vowels and all four diphthongs occur nasalized in Tones I, II, III, this nasality being phonemically postfinal /-n/; no vowels or diphthongs occur nasalized in Tone IV; in the neutral tone only the vowel /a/ occurs, never nasalized.

[March 1, 1944; revised February 15, 1945]

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[1] Research in Burmese was made possible by a fellowship in the National School of Modern Oriental Languages and Civilizations, under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Professor Leonard Bloomfield has been very generous in supervising the early stages of the project and suggesting improvements in methodology; my wife, Dr. Elizabeth Harris McDavid, suggested many improvements in the statements. Dr. William Cornyn of Yale, a former co-worker, first pointed out several of the phonetic criteria on which the phonemic analysis depends; his recent Outline of Burmese Grammar (Language Dissertations No. 38, Baltimore, 1944) is the best published description of the language. Since the original preparation of this manuscript, I have examined the Outline, and have made use of it as indicated. Where the interpretations differ, I am responsible. T/3 Fred Lukoff, AUS, a co-worker in the Army Language Section, has prompted a number of changes from earlier statements.

The material for this sketch has been derived mostly from two informants: Maung Thein Tin /máwn θêyn tín/ of Amyin /amyìn/, a village about 60 miles SW of Mandalay, Upper Burma, and U Po Thoung /û pów θâwn/ of Moulmein /mów-lá-myáyn myòw/, Lower Burma. Some additional Upper Burma (UB) forms were gathered from U Hpu /û phú/ of Mogok /mów-gow'/; some Lower Burma (LB) forms from N. C. Rao of Rangoon, A. Bruhns of Moulmein, and (through notes furnished by Dr. Cornyn) from U Shwe Waing /û hywéy wâyn/ of Tawwi /tô wì/, 100 north of Rangoon. Since this manuscript was prepared I have had the opportunity to work with Ko Kyin /ków cín/ of Nattalin /na'-talín/, and have revised a few of the statements in the light of evidence furnished by him. Unless a form is cited as peculiar to Upper or Lower Burma, it may be considered as occurring in the whole Burmese-speaking area.

There is some question as to whether Arakanese (spoken in Arakan Division, nearest India along the coast of the Bay of Bengal) and Tavoyan (spoken in the extreme south of Tenasserim Division, in the Burma panhandle) are dialects of Burmese or separate languages. The linguistic census prepared by Dr. William M. Austin from the Linguistic Survey of India classifies Burmese and Arakanese as separate languages. Final judgment awaits actual field investigation.

[2] English boot becomes /bu'/, and enters into such compounds as /bu'-phana'/, literally 'boot-slipper'.

[3] On juncture and contrastive stress ('suspensive intonation'), see Cornyn, Outline, 25-30.

[4] Nouns and verbs may be doubled to form derived nouns; see Cornyn, Outline, 163-78.

Two morphological processes have been discovered, but apparently neither of these is productive, and both are restricted to limited groups of words:

(a) Some personal nouns, and a few other noun-forms, when indicating possession or followed by particles, may undergo tone-change; that is, certain forms in Tone I or Tone II are sometimes replaced by forms in Tone III. For examples, /θú/ 'he, she', /θù/ 'his, her'; /mîn/ 'you' (familiar), /mìn/ 'your'. These changes do not always take place.

(b) In another class of forms, a change of initial indicates different relationships to the action or thing. Thus /nwêy/ 'to be warm', /hnwêy/ 'to make warm'; /bî/ 'a comb', /phî/ 'to comb'. See Cornyn and McDavid, Causatives in Burmese, SIL 1, No. 18 (1942).

[5] Lt. C. F. Hockett and others have attempted to analyze Burmese as containing not more than three tones, Tone IV being phonemically Tone III plus a stop consonant, either /t/ or /k/, depending on the analysis of the palatals. Lt. Morris Swadesh suggests a further reduction to two tones, analyzing Tone III as Tone II plus a phoneme of glottalization, and Tone IV as Tone II plus a final stop. This analysis is tempting, but it does not seem to handle the facts any better than the analysis into four tones. Against it is the fact that the assumed phonemes of stoppage and glottalization do not occur with the first tone. Moreover, the fact that both Tone I and Tone II are sometimes replaced by Tone III when indicating possession or when preceding a particle seems to argue against such an analysis into two tones. The analysis into three tones is possible, but there is not enough evidence to warrant it.

[6] Onomatapoetic forms are so labeled; borrowings by the name of the language from which borrowed.

[7] Some informants and a few scholars, possibly conditioned by the traditional Burmese orthography, attempt to analyze the palatal stops as clusters of velar stop plus palatal semivowel. Against this analysis is the fact that the palatals may form clusters with /w/, which if this analysis were accepted, would give clusters /kyw-/, /khyw-/, /gyw-/, of stop plus /y/ plus /w/, not paralleled by other such clusters. Phonetically, the palatal stops sometimes seem to resemble clusters of postdental stop plus palatal semivowel; to this analysis one must raise the same objection as to the analysis into velar stop plus palatal semivowel. Available evidence therefore does not justify the attempt to analyze the palatals as clusters.

[8] The cluster /hy-/ appears phonetically as a voiceless palatal spirant with narrowing between the blade of the tongue and the hard

palate. Since it forms clusters with /w/, we have by this analysis a cluster /hyw-/. Dr. Cornyn considers it a unit phoneme /š/. It is possible that there may be different analyses for different dialects. The arguments in favor of the /hy/ analysis are (1) the general argument that it patterns with /hl-/, /hm-/, /hn-/, /hŋ-/, /hw-/; (2) the particular argument that in the dialect of Maung Thein Tin the form /ne'-phyán/ 'tomorrow' sometimes occurs phonetically as [nɛppɕán]. For this dialect, the analysis /hy-/ is probably valid. For the dialects of Rangoon and Moulmein, it may be that /š/ is a unit phoneme.

As for the evidence of patterning, /hw-/ occurs very rarely. In addition to the cited form /hwèy/, the only recorded forms with this initial are /hwí/ (onomatapoetic) 'the whistle of a missile', /hwê/ (UB) 'plenty' (archaic and bookish), /hwe'/ (a spelling-pronunciation, normally /phwe'/) 'to hide', /hwûn/ (UB) 'throughout, entire' (literary particle). This cluster is so rare that one may question whether it is a true part of the Burmese phonemic system; if it is not a normal cluster, any analysis based on the analogy /hy : y :: hw : w/ is not valid.

[9] It may be objected that there is inconsistency in accepting the palatal stops as unit phonemes but setting up a cluster /ny-/. The difference in analysis is suggested by the fact that the palatal stops do occur in clusters with /w/, but that no form has been recorded giving initial */nyw-/, */hnyw-/; all attempts to elicit such forms have been rejected.

[10] The clusters /ly-/, /hly-/ occur infrequently, chiefly in recondite words. But no question of the structure of the language depends on the occurrence or non-occurrence of these clusters in any dialect.

[11] The finals which occur with /w/ are also limited: /i/ in UB /wi'/ 'to put on, as a dress', /o/ only in /wô/ 'palanquin, sedan chair', /u/ in /wú/ 'hello' (rustic), /wún/ 'an official', LB /wûn/ 'stomach' (UB /wîn/), LB /wùn/ 'to dare' (UB /wìn/), LB /wu'/ 'to put on, as clothing', /-ey', -ay', -a', -aw, -ow/ never, of nasal finals only /-in, -an, -un, -ayn/, the last only in /wâyn/ 'circle'.

[12] In the speech of Maung Thein Tin, this vowel with nasal final is often phonetically nearer [ɛ̃] than [ĩ]. On the basis of this fact, Dr. P. K. Benedict suggests phonemic analysis as /-en/ rather than /-in/. Since there is no contrast, it makes no difference whether we write /-in/ or /-en/, but the preponderance of phonetic evidence suggests /-in/. The same arguments hold for /-un/ as opposed to /-on/.

[13] In the dialect of U Po Thoung, many forms with the diphthongs vary in free alternation between Tone III nasalized and Tone IV unnasalized, thus: /hnyèyn/ and /hnyey'/. This evidence supports the three-tone analysis, with Tone IV interpreted as final /-t/; see fn 5.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

Emeneau, M. B. Kota texts, part one. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944. viii, 192 p. (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 2, No. 1.) $2.

The texts collected by Dr. Emeneau during the course of linguistic field work among the Kotas, a primitive people inhabiting the Nilgiri Hills of South India, constitute a most important contribution to our knowledge of Dravidian languages. A Kota grammar and vocabulary, to be published later, will provide Dravidian scholars with invaluable material on a hitherto unrecorded language. Kota Texts, when completed, will contain thirty-seven myths and tales in text and translation, seven accounts of customs and ceremonies, also given in text and translation, as well as a motif index and type and motif analysis of Kota tales prepared by Stith Thompson. Part 1 includes a brief sketch of Kota grammar, linguistic analysis of one text, bibliography of writings on the Kotas, and eleven myths and tales.

For the study of historical processes of culture contact and diffusion these Kota tales will undoubtedly prove to be of great value. As Dr. Emeneau points out, many of the story motifs are well-known in Indian literature and folklore recorded in various parts of the country. In text 10, for example, the hero Durčn, famed for his wisdom and justice, is tested by a god, who takes the form of a hunter chasing a pigeon. When the bird falls on Durčn's lap, the hunter asks for the pigeon, saying he is hungry and will die if he does not eat. Durčn refuses to give up the bird, but offers to substitute his own flesh equal to the weight of the pigeon, and the hunter accepts. Durčn cuts off first the flesh from his calves and thighs, but this does not equal the weight of the pigeon. The hunter then tells Durčn that the scales will balance only when he cuts out his heart and weighs it against the bird. When Durčn puts the knife to his chest, the hunter intervenes and explains the circumstances. The hero is taken to heaven where he becomes a star. This well-known story appears in the Mahabharata,

the Panchatantra, and in Buddhist literature. According to the Mahabharata version, the gods Agni and Indra test King Çibi. Agni assumes the form of a pigeon and Indra that of a hawk, and both engage in conversation with the King. Agni alights on the King's lap and begs for protection, while the hawk claims the pigeon as his lawful prey. As in the Kota tale, the King cuts off various portions of his body, but the pigeon outweighs the flesh until the King himself stands in the scales. The idea of cutting out the heart appears to be a Kota invention, or perhaps it is borrowed from some South Indian version of the story. The Kota tale differs in several other particulars from the Mahabharata account; for example, the gashes on King Çibi's body become the color of gold and emit a sweet perfume, and he is granted the gift of a son.

Kota and Indian mythology share the widespread belief in a golden age, an age of truth. If the Kota čatye·v is Sanskrit satya, the Kota 'time of oaths' (text 7:33) is the linguistic equivalent of the Hindu satya yuga, the 'age of truth'. Also common in Indian mythology as well as in the folklore of various aboriginal peoples of India, is the idea of wish-fulfilment found in several of these Kota stories. Text 10:22 expresses the typical Hindu belief that devotion to god and the practice of austerities confers extraordinary powers. Since folklore inevitably reflects the behavior and attitudes of the culture of which it forms a part, much information regarding Kota culture can be gleaned from these myths and tales. For example, we can assume that Kota notions of morality are made explicit in text 2:2. God informs the people: 'I will kill those who go on acting, not listening to my words, not being obedient and submissive, not following the rules against sexual intercourse with previous generations and the rules against sexual intercourse with later generations, speaking lying words, going back on promises.' Of special interest in this connection is the large number of proverbs quoted in the texts. 'Even if we are ruined, we must not ruin others' (10:50); 'He who acts as if he is superior will drink urine' (10:124); 'Soreness caused by the mouth (i.e. resentment caused by abuse) on the one hand will not heal. A sore caused by the hand on the other hand will heal' (10:128); the proverb, 'as the little stick with which one picks his teeth, having

grown big (if left uncut), becomes a tree' (3:26), is quoted in the text with reference to a quarrel which began with 'little words' and ended in blows.

The reader of these stories cannot fail to note the considerable degree of literary and artistic merit which they possess. This is especially remarkable when comparison is made with collections from other preliterate peoples of India. It is likely that the method of recording the tales in text rather than depending on the services of an interpreter is at least partly responsible for the excellence of form and wealth of picturesque detail. Text 9 is particularly noteworthy in this respect. Woven around the adventures of Father Kote·rviky and Father Mate·rviky, who decide to travel in the district, to learn about it and to see how people act, the story contains a great variety of characters and a number of episodes linked, not strung, together, in a masterly fashion. The method of recording also ensures the retention of many of the arts peculiar to oral narrative. Something of the personality of the narrator is transmitted, and the constant appeals to the audience contribute to produce an effect of oral narration. Dr. Emeneau in a discussion of the nature of the texts brings forth several arguments to prove that all Kota stories are in the same style although the stories presented were related by one individual. However, Tuj, the narrator, was reputed to be the best story-teller among the Kotas, and the texts themselves bear witness to his skill. It seems not improbable that the stories owe much to his individual ability.

A word must be said concerning the English style adopted by the translator. Dr. Emeneau states that he has 'attempted to reproduce the flavor of Kota style by keeping, whenever it could be done and retain intelligibility, all those linguistic-stylistic features which make up the style.' (vi.) By closely following the texts, Dr. Emeneau has indeed succeeded in reproducing in translation many features of Kota style. Too frequently, however, departure from customary English grammar and phraseology is unnecessary and confusing. On the whole a happy combination of Kota style with readability in English has not been achieved.

[February 28, 1945] Dorothy M. Spencer, Washington, D. C.

[Emeneau promises us a detailed grammar of Kota, and when that appears, an adequate appreciation of the totality of the grammatical structure of this Dravidian language can be made. The present volume of texts is not, however, of interest only for its anthropological, folklore, and literary contents, since it contains, as indicated, a grammatical summary which enables the linguist to get some idea of the language. This is Chapter II, A sketch of Kota grammar (15-29).

Phonetics and Phonemics are covered in §§1-4. The phonemes are listed and brief descriptions of the chief allophones are given. The consonants are /p t ṯ ṭ k b d ḏ ḍ g č̬ j̬ m n ṉ ṇ l ḷ r ṛ v y ṣ/. The vowels are /a e i o u/. Length and shortness of vowels are treated as two prosodemes of quantity (the text contains the typographical error 'quality', p. 15, l. 6 from bottom). The intonations (Emeneau calls them 'secondary phonemes'—a bad term in my estimation) are sentence medial pause /,/ and the sentence finals /. ? ¿/. The consonants are the most interesting features: three coronal stop series—dental /t d/, apico-alveolar /ṯ ḏ/, strongly retroflexed /ṭ ḍ/, but only two kinds of coronal nasals and liquids --/n ṉ/, /l ḷ/, /r ṛ/, the non-retroflexed ones being alveolar, with /n/ having also dental and alveolo-palatal varieties; /ṣ/ contrasts similarly with /č̬/, which has a free variant [s], and /j̬/ has a variant [z]. Initial consonant clusters are found only rarely, in words of Indo-Aryan or European origin, but in other positions extremely long sequences of consonants occur; an example is given: anj̬rč̬gč̬gvdk; such sequences have open transition, except that a nasal has close transition to following homorganic sounds.

Phonological operations are recorded in §§5-14. These are very well worked out by Emeneau, given the extent of the present sketch. They are presented in operational sequence: to arrive at a form one must take account of the rules in the order in which they are stated. Emeneau classifies these operations into morphophonemic and external sandhi rules.

Syntax follows (§§15-31). In Kota the syntax is the most important part of the grammar. It would be unfair to attempt an appraisal of Emeneau's analysis on the basis of the relatively small number of statements made in these few paragraphs.

Morphology is treated in §§32-68. Nouns are inflected for case,

and verbs have some inflection for person. All other words are particles.

The grammatical sketch is full enough to enable one to follow the linguistic analysis of text 25, sentences 1-5 (30-5). —GLT]

Stahel, Gerold. Notes on the Arawak Indian names of plants in Surinam. Journal of the New York Botanical Garden 45.268-79 (no. 540, Dec. 1944).

This paper, called to my attention by Carol H. Woodward, the editor of the Journal in which it appears, represents a kind of linguistic material which rarely comes to the attention of the professional linguist. A considerable number of names is given, and there is some analysis of the obviously complex terms, with a reference to two other long lists of Surinam plant names. The linguist cannot tell anything about the structure of a language from such lists, and even has to guess at what sounds are intended to be represented by the symbols used, but for comparative studies such vocabularies are not without their value. [GLT]

International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 10, no. 4. (1944). Revived under the editorship of C. F. Voegelin, and published under the auspices of the Linguistic Society of America, the American Anthropological Association, and the Committee on American Native Languages of the ACLS. $4 a year (business manager: Stith Thompson, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana).

Franz Boas is gone, but his journal, which seemed for a while to have gone with him, is now in such good hands as to assure it a long and useful life. The first new issue is of high quality, though of course not all the contributions are of equal merit. Volume 11 is for 1945. [GLT]

Acta Americana. Review of the Inter-American Society of Anthropology and Geography. Ralph L. Beals, Editor. Vol. 1- . México, D. F., and Los Angeles, California, 1943- .

Volume 1 contained one linguistic article: Emilio Willems, Linguistic changes in German-Brazilian communities, 448-63. It is to be hoped that more linguistic articles will appear. [GLT]